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fact, they comprise 22 of his 40 kylikes with known proveniences from the Aegean, the Black Sea, and the West.²¹ While this proportion is significantly different from the 13 out of 14 Persianizing ones within the empire beyond the Aegean, the considerable number suggests that a painter producing in part for the Eastern market might take scenes and themes initially devised for that trade and incorporate them into his general repertory.²²

An ironic aspect of the Persianizing that was done in the vase painting is that the depictions of

Eastern life are generally so bizarre or so naive that it is doubtful that when the pieces were bought up in the East the scenes would have meant much more than the usual Greek ones.

Nonetheless it is significant that the pottery did find a market within the Achaemenid Empire and that all evidence points to the customers being the local peoples and not resident Greeks. In the western satrapies Greek products found acceptance for enhancing a life distinct from the Greek.

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The Architecture of Hasanlu: Periods I to IV

ROBERT H. DYSON, JR.

Today Hasanlu appears as a large mound located in the Solduz Valley of Azerbaijan in northwestern Iran. The site has been excavated over a period of ten seasons of two months each between 1956 and 1974 by a joint expedition of the University Museum of Philadelphia and the Metropolitan Museum of Art of New York City. The following paper outlines the architectural remains found in the top levels beginning with Period I.

PERIOD I

Period I is the Islamic level of Hasanlu, the only date for which is indicated by two sherds of Laj Vardana ware dated to the thirteenth century A.D. Architectural remains excavated in the southwest quadrant of the Citadel Mound included a small structure with several small rooms around a central hall. Rubble foundations of a small tower which formed part of an enclosure wall (still visible in aerial photographs) were also uncovered.

²¹ Lists, *ARV*² 139-41 and *Para* 334. The kylix in Moscow from Kerch, noted in *Para*, is Persianizing.

²² And, by extension, the scenes could become generalized in the Attic pottery production. Studies of representations of Persians on Attic pottery: A.S. Gow, "Notes on the *Persae* of Aeschylus," *JHS* 48 (1928) 133-58; H. Schoppa, *Die Darstellungen der Perser in der griechischen Kunst bis zum Beginn des Hellenismus* (Coburg 1933); A. Bovon, "Les représentations des guerriers perses et la notion de barbare dans la 1^{re} moitié du V^e siècle," *BCH* 87 (1963) 579-602; T. Hölscher, *Griechische Historienbilder des 5. und 4. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.* (Würzburg 1973). T. Hölscher, "Ein Kelchkrater mit Perserkampf," *AntK* 17 (1974) 78-85; K. Schauenburg, "ΕΤΥΠΜΕΔΩΝ ΕΙΜΙ," *AthMitt* 90 (1975) 97-121. Battles of Greeks and

Small finds included clay spindle whorls, a bone shuttle, and pottery sherds. This deposit was eroded to a depth of only about 30 cm. and rested on an older erosion surface representing a long hiatus following the prehistoric occupation.

PERIOD II

Period II was marked by the erection of a large free-standing structure in the southwest quadrant of the Citadel Mound. The structure consisted of an uncut stone foundation with large square and rectangular rooms. Distinctive features were a stairway leading up to a platform, several blocked doorways, and a semi-circular hearth and chimney built into a wall. The structure appears to have been built in part upon a collapsed segment of an older fortification wall (wall II) dating to period IIIB. The building itself stood directly upon this fallen brick work and upon the pitted surface of period IIIB with which it is associated. To the

Persians, the focus of Bovon's and Hölscher's studies are, of course, among the least likely of the subjects to have been prompted by a non-Greek market, aside from the variant of the theme that shows the Persians winning.

In the light of the continued acceptance of Attic oinochoes in inner Anatolia, a curious case is presented by some Persianizing scenes, noted by Schauenburg, which appear on high-beaked shape VII oinochoes, a vase form which has been suspected of having an Anatolian prototype. Schauenburg has reservations, though, about such a derivation of the shape; the piece on which his article centers makes ribald fun of an Easterner, and a later one shows an Eastern warrior in flight (*ARV*² 1330, Makaria Painter, no. 1; *Para* 479).

northeast the structure bears some relationship to strata containing pottery of IIIA type, but the relationship remains to be worked out. Three radio-carbon dates (410, 440, 470 B.C.), based on the 5730 half-life corrected by the MASCA correlation factor (1973) from pits underlying the structure, suggest that it should be dated later than the mid-fifth century B.C. The term "Period II" is applied at present only to this structure which, due to erosion, is no longer stratigraphically linked to deposits to the northwest.

PERIOD IIIA

The Period IIIA deposits are well preserved to the northeast of the Period II structure (and may well prove to be associated with it) and on the western slope of the Citadel Mound. Fortification Wall I, a fragmentary, uncut stone wall and tower on the west slope, would appear to belong to this period as it caps deposits which overlie the collapsed brickwork of the Period IIIB wall. Period IIIA can be dated to Achaemenid times, sometime after 600 B.C., on the basis of its position above the Period IIIB wall and by three radio-carbon dates (570-560 or 500-420; 460-440; 470-440 B.C.). The terminal date for Period IIIA may be sometime in the third century B.C. because of pottery links to Charsada and Ai Khanum, to which J.P. Gardin assigns a date of about 270 B.C.

Characteristic of Period IIIA pottery are painted vases including a plum red paint on burnished cream-yellow surface and a bichrome buff ware painted with red and purplish-brown designs. The decorative motif of the triangle, appearing first in a IIIB context on very fine orange/buff ware (properly termed there Classic Triangle ware) is also common on pottery rims of Period IIIA. The common pottery is a matte orange/buff ware which occurs in forms such as incurved bowls, canteens, and large pitchers with trefoil rims. Burnishing except for the painted sherds is poorly executed and for the most part the scale of vessels tends to be larger than in the earlier periods.

PERIOD IIIB

Period IIIB is distinguished in architecture by the conclusive redating of the large Fortification Wall II, made of brick set on a stone foundation, that was free-standing to varying heights, the maxi-

mum known height being 2.60 m. On the exterior the wall exhibits projecting towers and buttresses, while on the interior were a series of radial walls forming barracks-like rooms made of stone. Paved alleyways led between these rooms to some of the towers. With its single small gate on the west slope the overall plan appears to be that of a garrison built for a detachment of soldiers to withstand a siege at the top of the mound.

A date in Urartian times is indicated by the Urartian masonry of the Fortification Wall II, as well as by similar pottery from Bastam, dated by the German excavators to 650-600 B.C., as pointed out to me originally by Professor Kroll. In the light of recent surveys of previously undiscovered Urartian fortifications in Azerbaijan, the Urartian system of projecting towers and buttresses led Professor Kleis to suggest to me on architectural grounds alone the need for re-examining the dating of the wall and the above-mentioned hypothesis of it having been a garrison. On the northwest, west, and southwest sides of the mound the preserved stratigraphy and amount of excavation prior to 1970 had been insufficient to clear up this problem. During the 1974 season the hypothesis was tested in the field, proving that the burned levels of Period IVB which ran up to Wall II had indeed been cut by it. Test excavations made to establish this point on the north side of Burned Building III, and in a trench on the south side behind Burned Building II, proved that on the north side the Period IVB burned surface ran under the wall while on the south side clear evidence for a foundation trench cutting through earlier remains was encountered. At the same time the remains of the original ninth-century gate were recovered just north of the Period IIIB gate and below the foundations of Fortification Wall II. There can be no further question that the entire plan of Fortification Wall II forms a single unit dating to Period IIIB.

The pottery of Period IIIB includes a local, burnished, red-slipped ware and the highly polished classic form of Triangle Ware which is rare at Hasanlu and which occurs in the form of small jars and carinated bowls. The making of carinated bowls with painted triangles continues into Period IIIA, although at that time the quality of the pottery declined.

PERIOD IVA

Period IVA signals the occupation period of the squatters, a time when the burned buildings of Period IVB had been largely leveled by erosion and limited human activity. There was only minimal building activity in Period IVA. The architecture includes a narrow enclosure wall running up the west slope, a small living area in reused rooms of the gate to the lower court-yard, and cellars for storing grain cut into ruined buildings. The west slope area had been covered with clean clay perhaps for use as a grain-processing area. There were many charred botanical remains preserved by a final burning of these squatter installations at the end of the period. Most outstanding among the botanical remains were quantities of poppy seeds which probably replaced sesame or linseed as a source of oil. The botanical remains suggest a radiocarbon date for Period IVA in and after the ninth century B.C. One cluster of dates based on short-lived grain samples suggests that the fire at the end of Period IVB was in the ninth century B.C. (890-850, 880-850, 840-820, 840-820, 810 B.C.), and a second cluster from the later stratigraphic context of Period IVA suggests a date for that period in the early eighth century B.C. (790, 790-780, 780, 780, 780 B.C.). Against these ten dates, however, is a cluster of four short-lived grain samples which are inconsistent and may not be valid (1100-950, 930-910, 900, 900 B.C.). If the first two clusters are correct, the burning at the end of Period IVA might have been the result of the final, full Urartian takeover of the region in the reign of Menua (810-781 B.C.), an interpretation which would fit the inscriptional and archaeological evidence available at present in the Solduz-Ushnu area.

PERIOD IVB-PERIOD IVC

Periods IVB and IVC are discussed in conjunction because they represent two building stages. Burned Buildings II, IV East, and V in their original form apparently were built in Period IVC, probably in the middle twelfth century, in part using wood salvaged from the large structures of Period V which they replaced¹ (Building II timber: 1210-1170, 1180-1160, 1140-1110, 1100; Building

IV East timber: 1480-1460, 1300 B.C.; all samples from lower storey construction). This early stage ended with a major fire which caused extensive reconstruction in all three structures, the renovation of the building plans, and the new structures I West and I East with an entry stairway to an Upper Court. The period of this extensive reorganization, IVB, has a middle eleventh-century B.C. date, as suggested by radiocarbon samples (the Western Enclosure of the IVB wall system on the west slope: 1080-1030 B.C.; Building II: charcoal in rebuilt course of north wall, 1100-1030 B.C.; Building IV East upper storey debris: 1100-1030 B.C.; Building V upper storey debris: 1080-1030 B.C.; Building I West: 1210-1110, 1080-1030, 1080-1030, 980-940 B.C.).

After the fire concluding Period IVC, Period IVB witnessed general rebuilding and new building activities. Buildings II, IVE, and V were renovated and porticos added, and Building VI was rebuilt. New improvements and constructions also included the pavement of the Lower Court, Buildings I East and West, the entry to the court between them, and the walled roadway system on the west slope. A standard architectural concept of the Period IVC buildings, anteroom with adjoining stairway, columned hall, and auxillary storage rooms, evolved *in situ* into the same buildings with porticos in Period IVB. Although the columned halls look superficially alike in plan, experiments with architectural models show that no two are exactly alike. Selected structures of Period IVB-IVC are examined below.

The Upper Gate of the Citadel Mound in Period IVB can be dated back to Period IVC, and these remains in turn rest on building materials of even earlier periods. The northeast corner room is preserved. Paired wooden columns had been mounted on stone slab bases at either side of the main passageway.

Building III of Period IVB was erected in Period IVC and ostensibly was not damaged by the fire at the end of that period. The ground plan of Building III is very similar to one excavated from Period V. The columned hall of Building III is small compared to those of other structures, measuring 9.0 x 11.0 m. It had two columns and a fireplace. In the columned hall was found a box with

¹ See article on the Architecture of Hasanlu V in forthcoming CNRS volume on the Paris conference of April 1977.

inlays of ivory chevrons and alternating copper and iron plaques. The portico dates to Period IVB.

The architectural remains of Building VI in Period IVB are damaged by a later foundation trench. Building VI was originally erected in Period IVC and was burned at the end of the period. In a single room two columns stood in the center and two at the side (and two had presumably disappeared). One column base had been preserved with plaster still around it. A large pilastered facade was added on the east side in Period IVB.

Building II was the largest of all the buildings in Period IVB, dating back to Period IVC. The columned hall was 24.0 x 18.0 m., with a raised hearth in the center. The back wall here is unique in having a central recessed doorway with chamber behind. Walls were constructed of a foundation of uncut stone about 1 m. high, followed by courses of bricks. In Period IVB were erected three plain stelae of local limestone, one in front of the building and two in a portico which was also added. In constructing models today it is uncertain whether or not the portico was one storey or two, although it is known that the walls of the columned hall rose to 7 m. Similarly, the solutions to lighting and ventilation are obscure; provisions may have been made in the walls or in the roof. The associated finds from Building II suggest that it had a religious character. Many goods were recovered, including ivories and colored wall tiles with modelled center knobs. The wall tiles are reminiscent of the yellow-white-black tiles of Shalmaneser III (858-824 B.C.). From Building II also came two inscribed stone objects. One states, "Kadashman-Enlil," referring to either Kadashman-Enlil I (prior to 1375 B.C.) or to Kadashman-Enlil II (1279-1265 B.C.), and may have been an heirloom from Period V. The second undated object states, "Palace of Bahuri of the mountain camp Ushi-shi."

Building IVE of Period IVB originally dated to Period IVC. The doorway to the columned hall (measuring 12.0 x 16.0 m.) from the anteroom had originally three pairs of columns set on flat stone bases. It was then blocked in to leave only a narrow door. The design of the doorway was later used for the exterior portico. All columns of the columned hall line up going either way. In the center is a raised hearth with a paving, also seen in Building V. The stairway of Building IVE, at the left end

of the anteroom, was entered at the right, passed around a central column and up brick steps half-way to the second floor, whose corbelled system in the wall, as seen in the IV-V corridor building, probably led upward. The portico was added in Period IVB. The back end of Building IVE was not excavated.

Building V was first built in Period IVC, and improvements were made in Period IVB. At that time Building V, which originally faced north, was re-oriented to face southwest as a result of being joined to Building IVE by a corridor which ran between. Building V is unique in that it has two intersecting axes. The columned hall is 13.0 x 15.0 m. and originally had a wide opening with four paired columns in the east wall centered on the central hearth. The original building plan involved four central columns and additional columns at the front and the back. Columns added at the sides block the original eastern opening secondarily. The structural arrangements of the side columns and the lintels are problematic for us today and appear to be secondary additions during rebuilding. A central raised hearth, showing a square block on the back, was burned and re-plastered perhaps 200 times. Old burned bricks from Period IVC were reused for the stairway. Below the sealed floor of one room was found a considerable amount of pottery which is the first pottery from Period IVC and should help to make a transition from the Period V to the Period IV ceramics. One object found in Building V was a damaged mace-head inscribed, "Palace of Ashuruballit," presumably belonging to Ashuruballit I (1365-1330 B.C.). It is supposed that this was an heirloom.

New in Period IVB was the erection of Building IV. It was built onto the west side of Building IVE. The effect was to turn the entrance at a right angle to face Building II and to add a large room with a smaller room on the west side. Building IV is integral to the paving of the Lower Courtyard, also of Period IVB date. Building IV had a monumental facade. The system of using three pairs of columns inside, seen in Buildings IVE and V, is here moved outside. The exterior walls have been rebuilt by the excavators in order to hold three plain stone stelae in position. The meaning of the stelae is unclear. It might have been influenced by the contemporary Urartian practice of setting up

stelae in courtyards. One workroom had a double grinding stone. The portico was made of a platform with wooden columns. Three columns across the front were decorative, while another three pairs of columns were structural in order to support a lintel. None of the Period IVB porticos had doors. The doorways to the rooms behind had four small posts, about 15 cm. in diameter, which sat on stone doorills to form the frames. The doorsocket with the door was a distinct entity. An interesting object found in Building IV was a metal pronged fork, about 0.50 m. long, held in the mouth of a snake.

In Period IVB a roofed corridor was built into the space between Building IV and Building V by adding a doorway, a wall on the front of Building V, a stairway, and a large storage room on the side. In this room were storage jars filled with botanical remains, including materials that had been used as fodder in the valley until recently. In the debris that had fallen from the second floor of the corridor were many goods. These include: a copper-bronze horse breastplate showing the weather god and two bulls, a copper-bronze basin handle, banjo-shaped pendants, snaffle bits, 125 bells, the remains of rolled-up textiles, and storage jars. These remains suggest that this corridor may have had something to do with horses.

Buildings I West and East were constructed in Period IVB. Building I West was laid out very formally. The back of it had been removed as a result of the construction of the (Uartian) Fortification Wall II in Period IIIB. There were a pavement and a drain in the columned hall of Building I West. The portico was incorporated into the formal structure. Stepped niches were made on either side of the doorway in the back of the portico and in the front wall of the columned hall. Building I West had a raised hearth with a 10 cm. curved wall around it, also observed in Building III and in structures from Period V. The celebrated gold bowl and silver beaker were discovered in Building I West.

Building I East, opposite I West, sat on a step

above the Lower Court and was entered by a stairway from a depression to the north. Under I East was a building of Period V, which explains its raised position. Remains from Building I East include a group of tankards with animal-head handles and burnished grey ware. Building I East was probably used for domestic service.

In 1959 a private residence was excavated in the so-called Outer Town below the citadel. It showed a large stone threshold, a small doorway, an anteroom, another stone threshold, and then a large room with a hearth. The anteroom before the large room is conceptually related to the more elaborate citadel buildings showing an anteroom before a large columned hall.

Access to the citadel mound in Period IVB was from the western side by way of two roads, each flanked by walls provided with a mud footing, a stone pavement, and a drain. This draining system was used to keep either the walls or the road dry. The roads contained flat center stones, possibly indicating that there was once a roof structure. On the upper slopes the roads led through the doorway of the Western Enclosure Wall that contained an open rectangular area. There were here two stone bases for brick piers and footings for two posts. Against the back wall was another draining system. From the debris that fell down, the rear half of the enclosed area was evidently roofed over. This IVB structure supersedes an earlier one of IVC date that connected with an earlier wall running up the West slope having buttresses and two small towers.

It is uncertain what kind of a surrounding wall stood on the citadel in Period IV. It may not have been too major in terms of defense, for the military strategy at that time probably had to do with the cavalry riding out onto the plain to defeat the enemy. This is in contrast to the later Uartian times in Period IIIB, when the military strategy was, instead, to hold the citadel from the attacking enemy by the large Fortification Wall II.

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